

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the... of the advance-guard of the oppressed as the ruling class, for the purpose of CRUSHING the oppressors. Lenin.

THE TOLLER

NO. 173.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1921.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

MILLION R. R. WORKERS FACE WAGE CUT.

MORE PROFITS FOR OWNERS DEMAND LESS BREAD FOR WORKERS.

July 1 will mark the day when 1,000,000 unskilled railroad workers will go to work at decreased wages by an order issued last week from Chicago by the Railroad Wage Board.

The wage cut constitutes the second storming of the defenses of the workers by the Labor Board, the first being the abrogation of the National Agreements some weeks ago. The idea that labor is entitled to all it can get for the commodity it sells—its power to labor, finds no justification in the text of the Board's announcement wherein it declares: "prevailing conditions justify to some extent, yet to be determined, a readjustment downward of the wages of the employes of the carriers."

The thousands of section men, construction workers, cheaply paid clerks and other elements of lower paid railroad workers, it will come as a surprise that living conditions have grown so cheap as to justify a wage cut. It is the opinion of railway officials that the reduction of wages of unskilled workers will be immediately followed by a corresponding cut of the skilled workers which will bring the total up to 2,000,000. Hearings on proposals of the roads to cut wages of skilled men will be heard June 6.

Officials Happy. The wage cut brings joy to the camp of the railroad officials who disclosed their elation with such expressions as "the statement is encouraging but the benefits we will get from it will depend on the reduction that is made." Evidently the rail owners prefer to get all they can while the getting is good.

The persuasive power of the railway officials over the Labor Board appears to be complete. All negotiations of the roads and the men before it in disputes have resulted so far in losses to the workers, while only on minor matters such as the desire some weeks ago of the roads to cut wages without sanction of the Board was disapproved. The Board now proposes to do the cutting itself. Certainly its action will have a weight of authority not contained in a like action by the roads themselves. Railroad officials have expressed themselves as "pleased" with the course of events.

The serfs of the railway exploiters are to be classified by the Board into 17 major categories and these again divided into 119 groups which are in turn to be classed in distinctive grades. This, the Board states, is for the purpose of so grouping positions that wage and other data reported by the railroads to the interstate commerce commission and the Board may be used for administrative and public purposes, and will not erect any jurisdictional lines, occupational boundaries, etc.

In Washington too. While the Labor Board is hard at work in Chicago finding "justification" for wage cuts of the workers on the railroads, the owners of the roads thru the officials are fully as hard at work in Washington before the senate interstate commerce committee investigating the transportation situation. For two weeks the officials have been telling their hard luck stories, seeking a raise in rates and "more rope" and other incidentals to the successful pocketing of more millions of profits.

The Southern Pacific could not wait until wages came down and reduced expenses but filed an application for an increase in freight rates. Julius Kruttschnitt, chairman of the board of the S. P. testified that that road must have a billion dollars a year either in increased freight rates or decrease in wages in order to operate the road "properly". Kruttschnitt is long in his howl for decreased wages as are all the other officials who have testified before the committee. Lower freight rates, say the officials will not stimulate traffic. The solution of the railroad situation according to the officials, is to employ an army of underpaid serfs devoid of economic power and establish as high rates as they can squeeze from the interstate commerce commission—a in the interest of the "public".

The attitude of the train service employes toward the reductions is to be determined at a conference of

State Department Wants American Prisoners Freed.

AFTERMATH OF WILSON REGIME STANDS IN WAY OF TRADE.

By PAUL HANNA (Fed. Press Staff Correspondent)

Washington.—An ultimatum to Russia has been issued through the newspapers by the State Department. It is that the United States will never recognize the Soviet government unless all American prisoners are first set free in Russia.

Secretary Hughes does not say that Russia will surely be recognized after the prisoners are freed. Russia must take her chances on that; America's dignified attitude is that all the alleged spies and counter-revolutionists sent into Russia by the Wilson administration must be turned loose as a condition prior to "friendship" between the two countries.

The State Department makes no mention of Russian citizens held in the prisons of the United States. It does not promise that they, also, will be set free if Russia sets the American prisoners free.

As reported in the Washington press, "The number of Americans now prisoners in Russia is estimated to be from 20 to 35. Reports to the State Department indicate that the condition of these Americans is distressing, that they have insufficient food, are improperly clothed and are subjected to other privations."

As for the privations suffered by the American prisoners, everyone in Russia suffers from privations, thanks to the American blockade and other causes. The State Department has been frequently and reliably informed that the American prisoners are not confined in narrow cells, as they are blamed in their private dwellings and frequently allowed to travel about the city streets in the day time.

This newspaper ultimatum is another indication of the State Department's increasing nervousness concerning Russia. Events of the past few months have shown that Russia can get along very well without American recognition. It has won the formal de facto recognition of Great Britain and is right now importing a considerable quantity of American merchandise through the countries with which it has concluded trade treaties. Secretary Hughes is left holding the empty bag of the last administration's hatred of Russia.

DEVELOPING THE OFFENSIVE

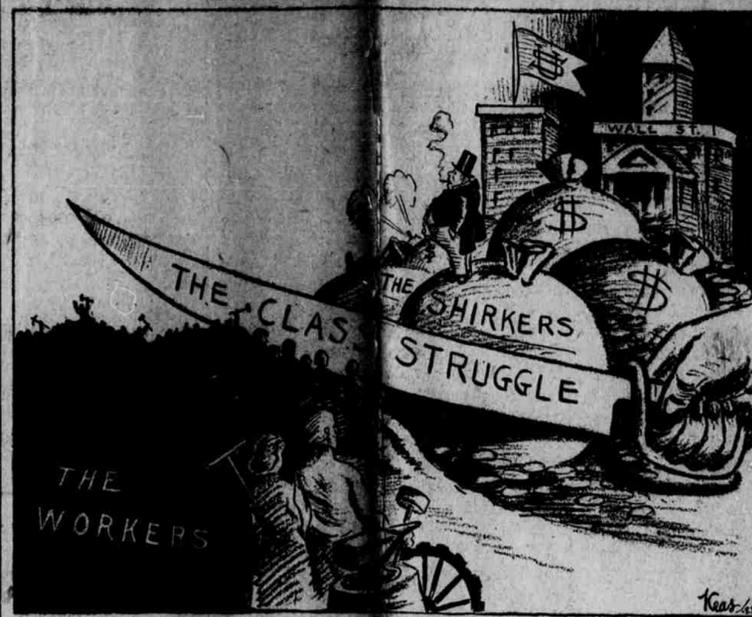
By GEORGE RESTA.

With the Communist party driven "underground", the I. W. W. leaders in jail, and the Socialists ousted from the Assembly, the capitalist class is now hammering at the A. F. of L. The first trenches of this last stronghold of labor have already been taken; wages are being reduced and hours lengthened. Without slackening pace, the enemy is already starting the last stage of its long offensive. The objective of this final drive is nothing less than the break-up of the trade unions and complete victory for the capitalist class.

Big Business means to succeed. A fundamental right co-existent with the trade union movement, the right to picket, is already in the hands of the executioners. Injunctions are being freely issued to prohibit picketing, regarding whether violence is used or not. In fact, two New York State Supreme Court Judges have just recklessly denied that the right to picket ever existed. In the words of Supreme Court Justice Van Slicen of New York: "There is no such thing as legal picketing. If it is lawful, it is no use to the union. The purpose of picketing is interference, one way or another, to the injury of somebody."

Van Slicen's formula is not based on law, which clearly defines "peaceful picketing", nor on logic. One could just as well say: "There is no such thing as legal selling. If it is lawful it is no use to the merchant. The purpose of selling is to extort profit, one way or another, to the interest of the 'public'."

600 general chairmen of the "big four" brotherhoods and the switchmen's union of North America to be held at Chicago on July 1.



ON WHICH SIDE ARE YOU?

BOURGEOIS and PROLETARIANS

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the middle ages, feudal lords, vassals, guildmasters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new ones, new conditions of oppression, new forms of exploitation.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature; it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential products.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an overriding law. It is unfit to rule, because it is incompetent to execute as a class its own rule within its class.

because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the away of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their involuntary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable. Marx and Engels.

countries from her foes. A mass of local "triumphs"! But victory went to the Allies who struck the death-blow.

Contrast the timidity of labor with the ruthlessness of capital. During the period of the war and of the armistice, the working class had the upper hand. They naturally took the offensive. They broke through the outer fortifications of Big Business, and gained more wages, less hours and better conditions. But instead of proceeding onward and solidifying these successes, their leaders called a halt in the enemy's first trenches. While Gompers was assuring the workers that they had won a great victory, the enemy reorganized its forces, has retaken its own positions, and is now hattering at the final stronghold of labor.

When labor started its initial offensive for better working conditions, it should have been mentally and physically prepared, after attaining its immediate objective, to advance further, even to the complete annihilation of capitalist rule. Then, and only then, would victory have been assured, with no comeback.

The capitalist class is employing these tactics. The workers must do likewise or succumb. They must rid themselves of their reactionary and cowardly leadership. They must accept leaders who have the will and knowledge to conduct an unlimited offensive against the master class. They must accept these men whether they are Bolsheviks, Communists, or what not. Only then will the rights of labor be recognized for good. The reactionaries have failed! Give the "Reds" a chance!

The W. I. U. and the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions.

By M. H. ROGERS.

The report of the W. I. U. of the July 1st congress of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions which appeared in their weekly official organ "The Industrial News", of April '20—offers the most palpable exhibition of opportunism and a complete abandonment of revolutionary principles.

That the W. I. U. should echo the discarded principles of the obsolete Second International and reincarnate Kautskysm in their report is startling.

Yet these opportunists have the temerity to demand recognition of their organization by asserting "that upon giving careful consideration to our principles and tactics we feel that the congress will be convinced that the W. I. U. is entitled to admission and recognition by the congress as the clearest and best expression of revolutionary social industrial unionism of the North American Continent."

The preamble of their organization is quoted in full and De Leon's comments on the preamble are also quoted at length in order to prove to the congress the infallibility of their organization and its tactics.

After extolling the wisdom of De Leon as "one of the greatest exponents of socialism since Marx," the report again reiterates, "The W. I. U. of the United States maintains that its tactics are peculiarly adopted to the advanced capitalist conditions prevailing on the North American Continent."

The report becomes very emphatic and vehemently attacks the "Anar-

Delegates Assemble in Moscow for International Communist Congress.

Arrangements for the holding of the Third Congress of the Communist International are being completed in Moscow as the opening day (June 3) approaches.

Delegates from all countries of the world, East and West, North and South, of all races and colors of men are arriving and being assigned their quarters as guests of the first Workers' Republic and the Communist International, the revolutionary political party of the world's proletariat.

Moscow presents a gala appearance as under the guidance of an artistic section of the Communist Party of Russia, and the inspiration of the ideal of Communism, banners and arches of welcome are erected in honor of the Congress, of victory of Communism in Russia and the struggle of the workers of the world for power.

For the organization of the Congress, the preparations for receiving, and entertaining the guests a special commission consisting of members of the Communist International, the trade unions, the Moscow Soviet, and the Commissariat for Education has been formed.

In all, four congresses all pertaining to the struggle of the workers for power over capitalism are scheduled to be held in Russia this summer.

June 3 the Third Congress will be called to order by G. Zinovieff, President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. This congress will be followed by that of the Red Trade Union International, the Young Communist Party and the Women of the East.

The Emancipator.

This so-called civilization makes cowards of us all, Horrid leering faces, tiny little souls, Pettiness, rudeness, and the crudeness of it all! Men fallen from their high estate, greedy, graveyard ghouls.

Thank heaven for communistic minds (Pure, divine redeemers of the race) That drive away the ignorance that blinds, Making the earth at last a decent place. Edward J. Ervine.

STATE ARMS AGAINST MINERS IN W. VA.

BOSSSES USE STATE POWER TO FIGHT UNION MINERS.

The tool of the mine barons, the governor of West Virginia, declared martial law in the Mingo-co coal fields on May 20. After a week of quietude on the scene of hostilities, the weapon of the mine owners was brought into play against the strikers who have resorted to arms as a means of defense against the coal owners.

Paralling the declaration of martial law in the coal region by Governor E. F. Morgan on May 20, is a call issue by Charles F. Keeney, president of District 17, United Mine Workers of America, to the non-union miners to strike in solidarity with the union miners now out in the "strike-lockout" which has been in force for one year. Embodied in the strike call were promises of union benefits to those willing to cease their support of the mine barons and join the workers.

The Governor's declaration cites various disorders, riots, shooting and blood shed committed by "large bodies of armed men" as the reasons for the establishment of martial law and declares the county authorities are unable to "put down or control such insurrection."

Quiet precedes Governor's Step. A week of quietude preceded the Governor's declaration of martial law in the disturbed region where miners have been out for an entire year in an effort to establish the principle of unionism in the Mingo-co mines. No concerted renewal of hostilities from either the strikers or the strike breakers, gunmen and deputies have been reported but the maintenance of an armed-state prevails and an occasional shot rings out from some covert on the mountain side. The miners are showing no weakening in their determination to stick together to whatever end awaits them in their long and suffering campaign to establish the right to

for years by the mine barons and the armed power of the State, they have fought on year after year for the simple right accorded human beings any where else in the world—the right to organize into unions for protection against the exploiters. More than once the struggle has reached the stage which now prevails—that of arms against arms.

Business Men Arm. The President Harding has as yet refused to send in federal troops, the declaration of martial law by the state is fulfilling the same end. Captain Brookus, commanding the state police has distributed several hundred rifles and pistols to business and professional men in Williamson and other W. Virginia towns who have been sworn in as special officers. West Virginia has no national guard but a body of about 100 men constitute a Department of Public Safety which has now been augmented by the swearing in of hundreds of citizens exclusive of miners and union men.

An attempt to gain the support of the A. F. of L. to secure a government investigation of the Mingo situation was made last week when conferences took place at Washington between President Gompers, Frank Morrison of the A. F. of L. and Fred Mooney, secretary and treasurer of the U. M. W. of A. and its attorney, Harold W. Houston of Charleston. Conciliators of the department of labor were also interviewed with a view to federal mediation between the miners and coal operators.

Point (G) however, deals with the advocacy of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and the hackneyed liberals of the W. I. U. can't digest it. Read the shallow and clumsy arguments advanced by the renegade leaders of the W. I. U. I will quote these Kautskyan sophistries in length.

"We can apply no better argument against this section (G) than to produce the following lines of the Declaration of Principles of the W. I. U. They cover the tactical requirements in America for our movement."

The first paragraph of the preamble is quoted. And the report continues "This language is plain and to the point. It is in conformity with American institutions, history and traditions. It is the outgrowth of our experience in the American Labor Movement. To adopt the Dictatorship formula would mean that we abandon our present declaration." (Continued on page 2.)